COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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READING BALL ON THE PEACE.

Reading, Dec. 9, 1802.

SIR,—When taking up my pen in defence of Mr. Addington, I silenced the pretended *lover of truth and decorum*, I did hope that we should have had no more ironical praises of our respectable minister. But a writer in the *Star*, under the signature of *Candidus*, has thought proper through my sides to make a malevolent attack on my friend and the worthy inhabitants of this place. The intention of this masked satirist is hardly disguised. For who knows not Mrs. CANDOUR in the *School for Scandal?* A seeming officiousness of weak palliation and excuse is the most effectual way of betraying the character to ridicule or censure.

With your permission, Sir, I shall begin by noticing his second letter, because in that he is pleased directly to apply himself to me. And he denies me to be an "inhabi-" tant" of this place; not from any intrinsic evidence in my letter; not from any inquiry of the parish officers or tax-gatherers; not from any information derived through the election committees of our worthy representatives Mr. ANNESLEY and Mr. SHAW LE FEVRE; but truly, because there is no "inhabitant of Reading who does not ve-" nerate the public character and admire "the private conduct of Mr. Addington." What is this, but impudently to beg the question, that he is the *real*, and I am the "insidious defender" of that great and illustrious statesman? This boldness, however, I am sure will not deceive a discerning public. Let us come to the proof.

What a treacherous account does this candid gentleman give of the origin of the ball! On the first mention of peace he tells us, that the notion of a ball and supper was taken up from a pure abstract love of peace, by a number of gentlemen, who did not all agree in their opinion of the terms of the treaty. And this he calls "an expression of "feelings congenial to the English charac-" ter," to celebrate unanimously an event about which no two of the company, perhaps, thought precisely alike. His meaning, if he has any, must be, that a ball and a supper can never come amiss to Englishmen and Englishwomen. Otherwise it is such a libel on old English sincerity and plain dealing, as can have been written by no man, but one of those admirers of the First Consul of France, who affect the warmest attachment to Mr. Addington, for their own sinister purposes. Observe too, what a foolish figure he makes of my friend, when he paints him swallowing down, with the greatest self satisfaction, as a compliment to the leading measure of his administration, an entertainment given by persons, a majority of whom, this "insidious defender" hints, disapproved, more or less, of that very measure. I leave the world to judge, whether the true and plain account which I gave, is not much more creditable to Mr. ADDINGTON, that it was a tribute of respect from some former patients of his excellent father. Some of them, however, I am afraid, people will think not to have been perfectly cured, if CANDIDUS is one of the number, and really intends to be serious. But it is impossible that he can. Every line that I read in his letter convinces me to the contrary. Could any one who was in earnest, have passed over a whole year in silence, and told us nakedly that the proposal adopted in October 1801 was carried into effect in October 1802; just when every body knows that the minister, very wisely and spiritedly in my opinion, sent orders to stop the execution of the treaty, and began to arm again in a manner that caused an alarm of war from one end of the kingdom to the other? I accounted, satisfactorily I hope, for this interval. (My account is not contradicted: but this great chasm is left by CANDIDUS, merely I believe, because it must strike every man of common observation, as an opening to ridicule not to be resisted.—Indeed, Sir, this is too glaring.

In his short abstract of my friend's speech, this writer represents him as having talked of "the firmness of parliament, the valour "of our fleets and armies, and the loyalty "of his countrymen." On this part he says, "all the quiver of the arrows of invective "has been emptied." Now here, Sir, it happens that there is a very short issue be-

tween us. Your readers, as far as I am apprized, have before them all that has been written on the subject except the idle paragraphs with which it began; and I will rest every thing on this point:—There is not any where a single syllable of invective aimed against either of these topics. If I remember right, there is no direct allusion to either of them. What then could have been the possible object of such a gross misrepresentation, so easily to be detected? What, but that its grossness might lead to instant detection; and that under the flimsy pretence of indignation at the attacks of "*insignificance* and *obscurity*" (as he is pleased politely to characterize the writers in the Morning Post and the Political Register, the "Lover of Truth and Decorum," myself, and your correspondent N. V. who dates from WHITEHALL, all lumped together) he might thus expose my respectable friend "the Chancellor of the Exchequer to fresh "laughter." I appeal to that truth, that genuine candour, and that common sense, whose names this false and scandalous MR. CANDOUR so boldly uses, whether the absurdity of addressing a speech on the blessings of peace to "dancing misses, and negus-"swigging fidlers," the charge which I originally met and confuted, is half so great as the poor, trite, common-place cant, which Mr. Addington is here said to have delivered to the same audience; for the paltry distinction, that he addressed what he said to the stewards, can only be meant to disgust the Public still more, by the meanness of the subterfuge. What a total disregard to dramatic consistency of character, what a want of all probability is there in the fiction, that a minister of peace and anti-jacobinism should remind the gentlemen and ladies of the "firmness of parliament," in voting so long for war, to obtain that *indemnity and security* which he persuaded them to abandon; of "the valour of our fleets and "armies," in making conquests, which he surrendered; and of the "loyalty of his coun-"trymen," evinced, I presume, by a greater number of assassination plots and attempts against the life of the King, than were ever suspected in all the former part of his Majesty's reign, or in the reigns of any of his royal progenitors; and by the whole train of strong measures, suspending or superceding the great constitutional guards of personal liberty; measures which the spirit of the times unfortunately made too necessary; and which have been all of them renewed, and some of them carried further, or introduced for the first time on our statute-book, during the present administration. I will maintain the propriety of these strong measures, as necessary evils; I will maintain the peace, as Mr. ADDINGTON himself did, who declared it was the best he could do, and that "he had never attempted to apply to it "any epithets of praise."* But, against the imbecillity which this "CANDIDUS" ascribes to my friend, I see no defence, but in denying the fact. I do, therefore, deny it; and in the name of all the Minister's true friends, call upon this false friend to prove his malicious imputation if he can.

Having thus endeavoured to injure Mr. Addington, by attributing to him what he did not say, he makes a passage in his real speech the vehicle of ridicule on the inhabitants of this place. The "affectionate manner" in which he is said to have expressed his concern at the necessity of quitting the county, is represented as at once the cause and effect of "those sentiments of esteem, which were "pathetically manifested by the company." It could only have been the cause, I presume, of the pathetical manifestation which followed, and the effect of the pathetical manifestation which preceded. But, what with cause and effect, the world is thus to suppose that the whole ball and supper was a continued display of sentiment and pathos. Fiddlers pathetically scraping; misses pathetically jigging; beaux pathetically hobbling after; stewards pathetically scolding waiters; and fiddlers, misses, beaux, and stewards all pathetically eating and drinking. Now, Sir, I can assure you there was not a single tear shed from the beginning to the end of the entertainment. My friend paid a proper compliment, neither more nor less than became him, to the neighbourhood. But it is a burlesque upon him, to hold out that there was any over-acted tenderness and regret professed by him, at having sold Woodley for several thousand pounds more than it cost him, and received, from the favour of his Sovereign, a much handsomer and more convenient residence, the like of which no former minister ever had influence to get. His old neighbours, on their part, could not but be glad of his promotion, whether they might or might not share in the good effects of it. All this was, in my opinion, just as it should be. The only impropriety was in *publishing it*; and that was the act of Mr. Addington's secret enemies, or injudicious friends, whose foolish paragraphs first provoked the "Lover of Truth and Decorum." Who that writer may be, I neither know nor care; but, from

* See Reg. Vol. I. p. 590. EDIT.

the manifest superiority of his style to that of "Candidus," I am satisfied they are not the same person, as I might be led to suspect from the apparent conformity of their designs. Against both I shall be ever ready to enter the lists, in behalf of my friend, Mr. Addington.

I have now gone through all that relates to the Reading Ball. With your permission, Sir, I may take some future opportunity of of exposing the malignity which CANDIDUS betrays in some other parts of his second, and the whole of his first letter. Here he plainly discovers the cloven foot. He openly does that, which I will take upon me to say, my friend considers as the most mischievous of all things to him: he seeks to embroil him with Mr. Pitt, by endeavouring to build his reputation on the ruins of his predecessor's glory. I am, Sir, your obedient humble servant, J. TIETENSER.

EXTRACT FROM THE MONITEUR, RESPECTING INDIA.

The Moniteur copies from the Mercure de France a long article attacking England. The two following passages are the most remarkable:—"A company of English merchants exercises imperial power in India, wastes its population, and dethrones its princes at will. What is held to be in Europe outrageously revolutionary, is thought by them to be in India perfectly just and lawful; as their philosophers allow that politics and morality change with the climate. In the late war, by which this merchant-company deprived the Sovereign of Mysore of his life and dominions, their servants got into their hands that prince's papers.—Nothing can be more natural, than, that the inhabitants of India, and their princes, should view with jealousy the grasping, oppressive ambition, of such a company of merchants; and should wish to join in confederacy with those who are in arms against them." [*Here follows an account of the deposition of the Nabob of Arcot.*]—"Most of the English papers prose a great deal about the ferment there is in men's minds. Not a sloop can be armed, in any British harbour, but they will insist, that Europe is going to be deluged with the blood of a new war. They are so blind, as not to see, that the affairs of the Continent have been settled to the entire satisfaction of all the great powers; and, that the voice of experience still speaks too loudly, and too decidedly, to leave a possibility, that any government should consent to the interference of the English in the new arrangements which have become necessary in consequence of the peace.—Switzerland, drawn into the vortex of our revolution, which she once thought that she might view as an unconcerned spectator, can no longer return to that which was her condition in 1789. There are, in politics, situations which cannot be restored. Were that country left to itself, it might exhaust and agitate the neighbouring powers, but could never renovate its former existence. The interposition of France had become indispensibly necessary."

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Ratisbon, Nov. 26.—The Deputation of the Empire, on the 23d inst. completed the Deputation's recess, or general conclusum in 54 sections, which was yesterday presented to the Imperial Plenipot. for ratification. The Sub-delegate of Bohemia gave his vote for the conclusum in contemplation of a speedy adjustment between Austria and France, which may be expected every day. The conclusum has been sent off by the French Legation at Paris by a Courier.—Immediately after the ratification the general conclusum will be laid before the Diet.—The day before yesterday 350 Mentz troops entered this city, and to-day the Count De Benzel took civil possession, in the name of the Elector Arch-Chancellor.

Banks of the Meine, Nov. 27.—A new Deputation, it is said, will be appointed to consider of the new distribution of the German Empire, and the constitution of the circles, and to prepare a plan to be laid before the Diet.

Vienna, Nov. 21.—According to intelligence from Peterwaradin, of the 18th inst. the first reports respecting the earthquake at Constantinople were much exaggerated. It was nevertheless very violent. In the neighbourhood of the Seraglio several houses were shaken, and a great part of those in the suburb of Galata, together with the Mosques, overthrown. The Grand Seignior fled to the Mosque of St. Sophia, where a great multitude of people also took refuge.—*Nov.* 24.—Prince Esterhazy has left this city for Paris, and Gen. Count St. Julien, who accompanied the Grand Duke Constantine to the frontiers of Austrian Poland, has returned to Vienna.—The Palatine of Hungary will set off for Petersburgh, about the end of the month.

Berne, Nov. 30.—It is said that the English Secretary, Mr. Moore, has repaired to Constance *incog.* where General Bachmann is at present with several Swiss emigrants.—The public papers have announced that M. Reding has been set at liberty; it is not, however, Aloys Reding, but one of his cousins.

Ratisbon, Dec. 2.—The Imperial Plenipot. has not yet acceded to the Defin. Conclusum of the Deputation.—The ministers of the mediating powers, are occupied with the discussion of a project for the organization of Germany, upon the principles established in the plan of Indemnities, in which will be particularly determined the relation of the two prevailing religions, and the powers of the directors of public worship.—There

still exists a violent quarrel between Bavaria and Baden, respecting the library at Manheim.

Berne, Dec. 3.—The Diets assembled at Lugano and Bellinzona, have charged Citizen Ruttiman, First Statthalter, at present at Paris, to represent those cantons in the Congress. The Diet of Zug, on the refusal of the Ex-Director Laharpe, has appointed for its Deputy, Gen. Andermatt.—The Editor of one of our Journals has been conducted under a military escort before Gen. Ney, in consequence of an article which appeared in his Journal. The Gen. declared that the Journals of Berne should pass under the censurate of his office.

Basle, Dec. 3.—The Helvetic Government has received intelligence that the Preliminary Negotiations have already been set on foot respecting the Indemnities claimed by Switzerland for the loss of its possessions in Germany, which promise complete success.—Gen. Ney has been authorized by the Minister at War to transport all the artillery, musquets, &c. arising from the disarming of the inhabitants of Switzerland, to Lausanne, where they will be guarded by the second Helvetic battalion of the line.—The Deputies of Uri and Schwitz have set out for Paris.

Brussels, Dec. 6.—Letters from Paris continue to assure us, that the journey of the First Consul into *ci-devant* Belgium, will take place in January next, and that after having visited Brussels, Antwerp, and Ghent, examined and given the necessary orders respecting the opening the canal between Charleroy and Brussels, for the purpose of forming a junction between the Sambre and the Scheldt, he will proceed directly to Mayence. It is added, that the Minister at War will join Buonaparté on the banks of the Rhine, in order to examine the plan formed for the purpose of establishing a military line on the left bank of that river, between Frankenthal and the frontiers of the Batavian Republic.

Paris, Dec. 7.—*(Extract from the Argus).—Madame Buonaparte's Drawing-Room.*—The Drawing Room at St. Cloud, on Thursday se'nnight, in point of brilliancy and fashion, eclipsed all former precedent. Mad. Buonaparté entered the Drawing-Room at ½ past 3 o'clock, when the following presentations took place, viz.—Her Grace the Duchess of Dorset, the Duchess of Gordon, with her beautiful and accomplished daughter, Lady Georgiana.—The Duchess of Newcastle—Countess of Cholmondeley.—Lady Conyngham.—Lady Eliz. Monck.—Lady Eliz. Foster, daughter of the Earl of Bristol, Bishop of Derby.—Mrs. Orby Hunter.—These were the principal English Ladies that were presented to Mad. Buonaparté. The foreign circle of Ladies were very numerous. Lord Whitworth, the English Ambassador, was likewise presented, together with the list of Noblemen and Gent. presented to the First Consul on Sunday last. The rest of the company consisted of M. Talleyrand, Minister for Foreign Affairs; M. Maret, Secretary of State, with the other Members of Government; the Foreign Ministers and their Ladies; Sir John, Lady, and Miss Callander; Col. Roche; Lt. Col. Matthew; Lord Frederick Montague; Maj. Staples; the beautiful and accomplished Mrs. Orby Hunter; and a large party of fashion and beauty, of all nations, too long for recapitulation.—Her Grace the Duchess of Dorset was honoured by Mad. Buonaparté with the most marked attention. By mistake her Grace was placed at the left, instead of the right hand of Mad. Buonaparté. This occasioned a temporary derangement, which, however, only served to display the affability and politeness of Mad. Buonaparte in a more conspicuous light.—The Duchess of Gordon was likewise noticed in the most *gracious* and flattering manner, and as well as her lovely and charming daughter, Lady Georgiana, constituted the object of general admiration. Nor ought the beauteous and fascinating lady Conyngham to be omitted in this glorious constellation of female loveliness, this *lucidum cæli decus*, of which she formed so bright and sparkling a star! May such sweet irradiation ever shine and cheer the political horizon of the courts of Europe, and more particularly shed its benign influence over the cabinets of France and Great Britain!—The ceremony of presentation being over, the company were ushered through the long gallery, to a spacious apartment, where refreshments were served up, consisting of the choicest wines, fruits, and other dainties. The present being the first time of this custom taking place, we may consider it as a compliment to the English embassy. About 5 o'clock the company withdrew, highly satisfied with the polite reception they had experienced, and loud in their praises of the urbanity and *winning kindness* of Madame Buonaparté. The Duchess of Gordon, in particular, expressed herself in terms of *rapture* at the elegant and conciliatory manners of that lady.

Paris, Dec. 7.—By a decree of the Consuls a real entrepôt is established at Cherbourg.—Gen. Menou is to replace Gen. Jourdan, as administrator Gen. in Piedmont; the latter will sit in the council of state.—*Dec.* 10.—The deputies of the Helvetic Cantons convoked at Paris to give their opinion on a plan of constitution for Helvetia, have nearly all arrived here.—The government has appointed a commission of four, viz. Barthelemy, Desmeuniers, Roderer and Fouche to confer with the deputies in order to receive and discuss their observations and plans.—*Dec.* 11.—They write from Algiers, of the 10th Nov. that on the preceding day, a shock of an earthquake was felt there, so violent, that for forty seconds the inhabitants expected to be buried under the ruins of their houses. Several houses were much damaged, and almost all were cracked.—At the distance of six leagues from Algiers, a village, consisting of 200 houses, was entirely destroyed, and all its inhabitants perished.—Two English ships of the line felt the shock strongly at 30 miles from land.

DOMESTIC.

On Wednesday the 8th inst. His Majesty held a levee at St. James' Palace, which was numerously attended. The principal presentations were Count Schimmelpenninck, envoy and plenipotentiary from the Batavian republic, his Grace the Duke of Bedford, on coming to his title; and the Right Hon. the Attorney General of Ireland.

On Thursday the 9th. inst. Her Majesty held a drawing room at St. James's Palace. The principal introductions to Her Majesty were Count Schimmelpenninck, and his Grace the Duke of Bedford.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT

WEDNESDAY, *Dec.* 8.—LORDS—Chester road bill read a first time.

COMMONS.—Speaker stated, that having been returned for Woodstock and Heytesbury, he had

made his election for Woodstock.—New writ ordered for Heytesbury.—Speaker stated that he had received a letter from the Right Hon. John Beresford, stating his return for Waterford and Inniskillen, and that he had made his election for Waterford.—New writ ordered for Inniskillen.—New writ ordered for the city of Chester, in the room of Lord Belgrave, called up to the House of Peers.—Speaker stated that he had received a letter from the clerk of the crown in Ireland, complaining of an undue election for Trinity College, Dublin.—New writ ordered for Brackley, in the room of S. Haynes, Esq. who had accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.—Mr. Golding stated that he had been elected for Fowley and Plympton, and that he had made his election for Fowley.—New writ ordered for Plympton.—New writ ordered for Marlow, in the room of T. Williams, Esq. deceased.—New writ ordered for Portarlington, in the room of H. Parnell, Esq. who had accepted the escheator of Munster.—Report of Irish Militia Bill brought up and agreed to.—Report of the committee on expiring laws brought up.—Mr. Addington moved that no election petitions be taken into consideration till after the recess. Agreed.—Mr. St. John presented a petition from certain electors of Nottingham, complaining that their signatures to a petition already before the house was obtained by false representations.—Sir W. Pulteney presented a petition from the maltsters of Shrewsbury.—Malt duty bill, and bill for raising five millions by loan on exchequer bills, read a second time.—*The secretary at war* moved the order of the day, for the house to resolve itself into a committee of supply, and also that the different army estimates laid before the house on the 1st. of Dec., and the ordnance estimates presented the 3d of Dec. should be referred to the said committee. On Mr. Yorke's moving the first resolution, "that 66,000 "men be employed for the service of Great Bri-"tain and Ireland for the service of 1803," a long and interesting debate ensued, *a correct report of which will be found in the Supplement to this volume.* The speakers were Mr. Yorke, Mr. Banks, Sir W. W. Wynne, Sir Eyre Coote, Lord Temple, Gen. Maillard, Gen. Tarlton, Mr. Archdall, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. D. Ryder, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Canning, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Fox, Mr. Windham, Mr. Addington, and Sir J. Pulteney.—Motion put and carried *nem. con.*

Thursday, Dec. 9.—LORDS.—Chester road bill read a second time.

COMMONS.—New writ ordered for Lymington, in the room of Gen. Burrard, who had accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.—Petition presented from the clothiers of Wells, in Somersetshire, praying for the repeal of certain penalties in their trade.—The malt, mum, cyder, pension bill, and exchequer bills went through a committe.—Irish militia bill read a third time and passed.—Attorney general moved for leave to bring in a bill for the more easy transportation of felons.—Mr. Vansittart moved "that there be laid before the house an account of the money payments made to His Majesty's household, and not provided for."—English and Irish grain export bill read a first time.—Mr. Corry moved for leave to bring in a bill for reducing the different bills relative to the Irish militia into one.—Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the committee of supply; and on the question, that the resolutions be read, an interesting debate, similar to that of yesterday, was opened by Mr. T. Grenville, who was followed by Lord Hawkesbury, Sir F. Burdett, Mr. H. Browne, Col. Calcroft, Dr. Lawrence, Mr. Addington, Mr. Fox, Mr. Windham, and Lord Castlereagh. *(See Supplement.)* Report read and agreed to.—Mr. Yorke moved for leave to bring in a bill for the better punishment of mutiny and desertion.

Friday, Dec. 10.—PEERS.—Counsel heard on the Scotch appeal Kinnaird, *v.* Matthewson.—Small note bill read a third time and passed.—Irish militia bill, and turnpike road bill read a first time.

COMMONS.—Mr. S. Lefevre stated, that he had been returned for Bodmin and Reading, and that he had made his election for Reading.—New writ ordered for Bodmin.—The Lord Mayor presented a petition on behalf of the ship-owners in the Port of London complaining of the tonnage duty.—Similar petitions were presented from Scarborough, Bridlington, Plymouth, and Sunderland.—A petition was presented on behalf of certain druggists of Sheffield complaining of the late medicine act.—A new writ was moved for Wootton Basset in the room of Gen. St. John who has accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.—Attorney general brought up the bill relative to the more easy transportation of felons, which was read a first time.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved the order of the day for the house to resolve itself into a committee of ways and means; which being read and agreed to, he moved, that the amount of the produce of the permanent taxes for 1802, be referred to the said committee. Ordered.—The house having resolved itself into a committee of the whole house. Mr. Addington then entered into a statement of the supply for the year, and the ways and means for raising it. As we shall have repeated occasions to refer to these important documents before the publication of our SUPPLEMENT, we are induced to present our readers with the following abstract of them, the accuracy of which may be depended upon, as we have received them from an official source.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer first observed, that he was induced to bring forward the motion, of which he had given notice, for granting to His Majesty a sum on the growing produce of the consolidated fund, at a season of the year earlier than usual, by the very satisfactory circumstance of the extraordinary produce of the rev. during the last half year. It would be recollected, that four millions and a half had been voted on the credit of the consolidated fund, for one year to the 5th April next. Of that sum, no less than £3,800,000 had been realised on the 10th of Oct. last, and there was little doubt that on the conclusion of the ensuing quarter, on the 5th Jan. the surplus of the consolidated fund would exceed the £700,000 necessary to complete the sum which had been voted. The committee therefore would be aware, that unless a power were given to His Majesty's gov. to apply such further surplus as might accrue, to the public service, a considerable sum might remain dead and useless in the exchequer, while money must be raised by other means to defray the necessary expenses. He then shortly recapitulated, the principal measures of finance in the year 1802, and observed, that the unfunded debt in exchequer bills and navy debt, which, in Nov. 1801, had amounted to upwards of £37,300,000 had been reduced to about 19½ millions; making a reduction of near 18 millions, which in the course of the year had been either funded or payed off.—Of the remaining sum of 19½ millions, three millions, which had been advanced by the bank as a

consideration for the renewal of their charter, bore no interest, and was not payable till 1806, and £900,000 were charged on the annual taxes of the present year, the arrears of which would be sufficient to discharge them. Deducting these sums, and £4,500,000 of navy debt, the remaining Exch. bills scarcely exceeded 11 millions. That in order to effect this reduction, to provide for the current services of the year on that extensive scale which the circumstances of the state had required, and to relieve the country from the pressure of the income tax, it had been necessary to make provision for 97 millions of funded debt, of which 11 millions arose from the funding of exchequer bills, 57½ millions from the stock charged upon the income tax, and about 30 millions from the loan of the present year. That the charge accruing from so large an addition to the funded debt amounted to above £3,100,000, for which taxes were provided, which were estimated at four millions, but which in the first quarter in which they had become productive had brought into the Exchequer about £920,000, although scarcely any thing had been received on the additional assessed taxes, which were estimated at one million. Adding, therefore, one-fourth of this sum to that which had been realized, it would appear that the produce of the taxes of 1802, in the quarter ending the 10th of Oct. in that year, might be estimated at no less than £1,170,000. He had the satisfaction to state, that so far as a judgment could yet be formed, the services of the year would be defrayed by the grants of parliament, with the single exception of the extraordinaries of the army. Gent. would recollect that he had expressed his apprehensions in the spring that a considerable excess would arise on that service, and a large addition of expense had undoubtedly been occasioned by the detention of our troops upon foreign stations longer than had been expected. He had reason to believe that the excess beyond the sum of £1,600,000 provided by Parliament, would exceed one million; but he had the consolation of being able to state to the committee, that the total expense of the extraordinaries of the army in 1802 would not exceed one half of its amount in the preceding year. It was also satisfactory to reflect, that the economical management of the naval service had effected a reduction of no less than four millions and a half of navy debt. He next stated the supplies proposed for the year 1803, and the ways and means by which they were to be defrayed as follows:

SUPPLIES.

Navy, 50,000 men, at £.7 per man, per mo.	4,550,000	
Ordj. and extra.....	1,218,238	
Buildings, &c.....	901,140	
		6,669,378
Army	5,500,000	
Extraor. (includ. surplus extraor. issued in 1802).....	2,000,000	
		7,500,000
Ordnance.....		787,947
Corn bounties.....		524,573
Miscellaneous—England } Ditto Ireland }		1,000,000
Irish permanent grants.....		363,339
Amount of joint charges,		16,845,237

ENGLAND's SEPARATE CHARGES.

To pay off exchequer bills on aids 1801	2,781,000	
Do do on Aids, 1803 (Bank)	1,500,000	
Repayment to India Com.	1,000,000	
Interest on excheq. bills and disc. &c.	600,000	
Reduction of national debt	100,000	
		5,981,000
Total supplies		22,826,237
2-17ths of the above sum of £16,845,237, are to be contributed by Irel.	1,981,792	
Add for Ireland 2-17ths of £1,200,401, for civil list, and other charges on the consoli. fund, not relating to the public debt	141,223	
On account of Ireland		2,123,015
Ditto of England		20,703,222

WAYS AND MEANS.

Land and malt.		2,750,000
Surplus consolidated fund		6,500,000
Excheq. bills on aids 1804		11,000,000
Lottery.....		500,000
		20,750,000
Estimate of exchequ. bills outstanding 31st Dec. 1802.....		14,180,000
To be funded.....	7,000,000	
To be paid off.	4,281,000	
		11,281,000
		2,899,000
Proposed to be issued on aids 1804.		11,000,000
		13,899,000

He next proceeded to consider the supplies of the year as distinguished between permanent services and such as were only occasional. Under the former head, he observed, might be included the navy, the army (except that sum which might be voted to make good the excess of the extraord. of the present year, which he estimated at one million,) the ordnance, the miscellaneous services of Gt. Britain and Ireland, and the interest on exch. bills, although on all those services it was possible that reductions might hereafter take place. The total amount of those charges was about 16 millions, of which the British proportion would somewhat exceed £14,100,000. In the latter class might be placed the corn bounties, the excess of the army extraordi. of 1802, the repayment of exch. bills, and of the advances of the Bank and E. I. Comp. amounting in the whole to £6,800,000. He was strongly impressed with the conviction, that whatever our necessary permanent expenses might be, they ought to be provided for by a permanent revenue equal to the charge; and he trusted, that in this opinion he was supported by a general concurrence of the House, and of the country. That we must not attempt to accommodate our expenditure to our revenue, but must resolutely determine to raise

our revenue to a level with the expenditure. He did not, however, at present, feel it necessary to recommend to the committee any such effort. The only operation of finance which he had at present in contemplation, was at some late period of the session, to propose that from six to eight millions of exch. bills should be funded, in order to prevent any inconvenient accumulation in the market. The committee would be aware that unless a bargain could be concluded with the holders of those bills, on terms advantageous to the public, it might be necessary to raise a loan to this extent, for the purpose of discharging them. In either case, he trusted, that the means of defraying the charge which would be brought upon the public, might be found without any very material addition to the burthens of the people.—He next proceeded to state to the committee, that it might be observed that he had proposed to vote no more than four millions as the produce of the consol. fund, although he had stated his expectation of a sum of 6½ millions in the general account of the ways and means of the year. He had proposed a vote so moderate, because it would be sufficient for the immediate purpose, and would avoid any inconvenience to the public service in case the hopes which he thought himself well warranted in entertaining, should not be realized by the experience of the two next quarters. He had, however, to state the produce of the three preceding quarters in support of his expectations. The actual amount of the surplus of the consolidated fund in ¾ of a year ending the 10th Oct. 1802, amounted to 5,508,067*l.* To this was to be added the bounties paid on corn within that period, and not yet repaid by Parli. being 431,729*l.* and the sum which might be expected from the produce of the taxes of the present year, which had not taken place in the two first quarters of that period. The total would be 7,939,796*l.* From which, deducting the whole of the sums received on account of the income tax, amounting to 2,054,893*l.* the total produce of the three quar. would appear to be 5,884,903*l.* If the ensuing year proved equally productive, the surplus, in four quar. would be no less than 7,845,000*l.* and he therefore could not consider himself over sanguine in expecting a clear surplus of 6,500,000*l.* It was also satisfactory to observe, that the above sum of 7,845,000*l.* was little less than double the surplus of the consolidated fund in any former year; as the largest produce ever known, which was in the year ending the 5th Jan. 1792, amounted to 4,300,000*l.* In comparing the produce of the taxes, it would be found that a progressive increase had taken place, not indeed in every year, but in every period of a certain number of years compared with periods preceding it. This was an undeniable proof of the prosperity of the country, and a satisfactory indication of its increasing resources. Supposing the produce of the rev. to continue equal to what it had been of late, which he was far from venturing to predict with confidence, it would afford the means of providing for the defence of the country in a very ample manner. In confirmation of which, he stated the supply and ways and means as follows:—The naval service, in its different branches, might be estimated at about 4,230,000*l.* a sum capable of supporting an estab. nearly double that which had been maintained in any former peace.—The army (allowing 500,000*l.* for extraor. and supposing a reduction of one million below the present estimates,) would amount to 5,200,000*l.* For the ordnance he should allow 800,000*l.*; and for the miscellaneous services of the United Kingdom 1,300,000*l.* The total joint contribution would be 11,530,000*l.* Adding 500,000*l.* for the separate charges of Britain, to the British proportion of the above sum, the total to be provided by Gr. Britain would be 10,533,000*l.*

To meet this expense, we might estimate land and malt tax.....	£2,750,000
Surplus consoli. fund, estimated according to the produce of the three last quarters.....	7,845,000
Lottery	500,000
Contribution of the E. I. Comp.....	500,000
Total.....	11,595,000

a sum which would leave a clear surplus of upwards of a million.—But there were other indications not less satisfactory and decisive, of the increasing prosperity of the country. It was not possible, till the conclusion of the year, that the acco. of the commerce of the country should be completely made up. But from the best acco. which at present could be procured, it appeared that the real value of the principle articles of Brit. prod. and manufac., exported in the year ending Oct. 10, 1802, amounted to 27,900,000*l.*; while, in the preceding year, they were somewhat less than 24,500,000*l.* and that, supposing those articles to bear the same proportion to the whole of the exports, which they had done in former years, the total value of Brit. manuf. exported in the year 1802, would not fall short of 50,000,000*l.* being an increase of eight millions above the year preceding, which was itself greater than any former year.—The account of the shipping of the country was still more imperfect, as, till the close of the year, returns were only made up for the port of London: but it was not less satisfactory, so far as it could be ascertained, particularly in the important circumstance of the increase of Brit. shipping. In the year ending the 10th Oct. 1801, 1726 Brit. ships, measuring 418,631 tons, and manned with 23,096 men, had entered that port, and 1331 ships, measuring 350,634 tons, and carrying 24,070 men, had cleared outwards. In 1802, the Brit. ships which entered inwards were 2459, tons 574,700, men 33,743.—The Brit. ships which cleared outwards were 1933, tons 419,067, men 28,112.—The diminution of foreign shipping was not less remarkable than the increase of British. In 1801, the number of foreign ships which entered inwards, was 3385, tonnage 452,677, men 20,388. The foreign ships which cleared outwards were 3381, tonnage 445,651, men 23,302. In the year 1802, the number of foreign ships entering inwards was reduced to 1549, tonnage 214,117, men 10,555. The foreign ships which cleared outwards were 1868, tonnage 262,006, men 14,826. Such were the proofs of the increasing prosperity of G. Brit. But that of the other part of the United Kingdom was not less remarkable.—The rev. of Ireland had increased between the 5th of Jan. and the month of Aug. last above 900,000*l.* compared with the corresponding period of the preceding year. An increase which in proportion to the total amount of the Irish rev. was even greater and more rapid than known. He then took a view of the state of the sinking fund—a measure which had originated in the

sagacity and abilities of the late minister, and had been established by the wisdom and firmness of Parliament. In 1787, the sinking fund bore a proportion to the interest of the nati. debt, of about one to ten—it now had risen to the proportion of one to three, and amounted to no less than six millions—a sum which, annually added to the productive capital of the nation, cannot fail to produce the most extensive and salutary effects.—Mr. Addington concluded with moving his resolutions, which were agreed to, and the report ordered to be received on Monday.—The Indemnity Bill read a third time and passed.

From the London Gazette, St. James's, Dec. 8, 1802.

This day M. Schimmelpenninck, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from the Batavian republic, had a private audience of His Majesty to deliver his credentials: to which he was introduced by the Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury, His Majesty's principal sec. of state for foreign affairs, and conducted by Sir Cottrell, Knt. master of the ceremonies.

St. James's, Dec. 9, 1802.—This day M. Schimmelpenninck, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from the Batavian republic, had a private audience of Her Majesty: to which he was introduced by Edw. Desbrow, Esq. vice chamberlain to Her Majesty, and conducted by the master of the ceremonies.

From the London Gazette, Dec. 14.—*Lent Preachers appointed to preach before his Majesty for the year* 1803.

Feb. 23 (Ash Wednesday,) Dean of the chapel Lord Bishop of London. 25, Dean of Hereford Dr. Wetherell. 27, Lord Bishop of Landaff—March 2, Dr. Strachey. 4, Dean of Lichfield, Dr. Proby. 6, Lord Bishop of Lincoln. 9, Dr. Morice. 11, Dean of Bristol, Dr. Layard. 13, Lord Bishop of St. Asaph. 16, Mr. Barrie. 18, Dean of York, Mr. Markham. 20, Lord Bishop of Gloucester. 23 Hon. and Rev. Mr. Pelham. 25, Dean of Rochester, Dr. Goodenough. 27, Lord Bishop of Rochester. 30, Mr. Collins—April 1, Dean of Exeter, Mr. Talbot. 3, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, or Lord Archbishop of York. 6, Dr. De Salis. 8. Dean of Westminster, Dr. Vincent. 10. Lord Almoner. *Salisbury.*

Lent Preachers appointed to preach at his Majesty's Chapel, at Whitehall, on Wednesdays and Fridays, for the year 1803.

Feb. 23 (Ash Wednesday. Dean of Chichester, Mr. Miller. 25, Dr. Taylor.—March 2, Mr. D'Oyley. 4, Dr. Rhudde. 9, Mr. Nugent. 11. Dr. Burton. 16, Mr. Haggett. 18, Hon. and Rev. Dr. Grimstone. 23, Mr. Wollaston. 25, Mr. Burrard. 30, Mr. Dent.—April 1, Mr. De Mainbry. 6, Dr. Langford. 8, Dean of Norwich, Dr. Turner. *Salisbury.*

BANKRUPTS.

Lund, W. Virginia-street, builder.—Nowell, N. Fleet-street, haberdasher.—Johnson, W. G. Walbrook, merchant.—Bowman, J. Water-lane, brandy merchant.—Younghusband, W. Colchester, draper.—Stuart, H. Knuzden brook, whitster.—Carr, G. the younger, Friday-street, Staffordshire-wareman.—Roberts, J. Ashford, silversmith.—Richardson, R. J. London-street, merchant.—White, J. Old Broad-street, ——— Mason, J. Deptford-bridge, Kent, upholder.—Tremlett, J. Exeter, draper.—Fleming, G. Leyland, muslin-manufacturer.—Bayliss, J. Worcester, draper.—James, J. the elder, Nottingham, cotton spinner.—Clarke, W. Arundel-street, merchant.—Calvert, F. Richmond, stable-keeper.—Andrus, J. Abergavenny, ironmonger.—Lewis, J. Manchester, joiner.

STOCKS.	FRI.	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.
Bank Stock .	179½	—	—	—	—	178
3 pr. C.R. An.	86	70½	70¾	70¼	71⅛	72¼
3 per C. Con.	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 pr. C. Con.	83¾	85	85¾	85¾	86⅛	86⅛
5 pr. Ct. Ann.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bank L. Ann.	19¾	20 1/32	20¾	20⅞	20½	20⅝
D° S. 1778 & 9	—	—	—	—	—	4½
5 per Ct. 1797	108⅜	101⅛	102⅜	101¼	102½	103¼
Omnium ...	8¼ dis	7¼ dis	6 dis	5¼ dis	4½ dis	3 dis

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

Amster. c.f.	11 6	2 us.	Leghorn	50¼	
D°, at sight	11 4½		Naples.....	42	
Rotterdam	11 7	2 us.	Genoa	46	
Hamburgh	34	2½us.	Venice, 51 livres piccole effective per £. ster.		
Altona....	34 1	2½us.	Lisbon	67	
Paris 1 day	24 8		Oporto	67½	
Paris.....	24 12	2 us.	Dublin.....	12	
Bourdeaux,	24 13		Bilboa	36½	D°
Cadiz	35	eff.	Agio, bank on Hol.		p.
Madrid ..	35¼	effective			

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Eng. Wheat prq.	42s. to 58s	Hops per cwt.	120s to 273s
Rye.....	35 .. 39	Hay per load....	86 .. 130
Barley.....	21 .. 28	Beef, per stone	4s. to 5s.
Malt.....	40 .. 46	Mutton	4s. 0d. to 5s 6d.
Oats.....	16 .. 24	Veal	4s. 0d. to 5s. 8d.
Pease (white)....	40 .. 43	Pork....	4s. 8d. to 5s. 8d.
Beans (horse)....	34 .. 38	Tallow	4s. 2d.
Flour per sack ..	40 .. 49	Av. of Sugar pr cw	33¼s.
Seconds.....	40 .. 41	Salt, per Bushel	13s.10d.
Coals per chal....	43 .. 49	Bread 9½d the Quar. Loaf.	

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

We shall begin our remarks with that part of our statement, with respect to the affairs of St. Domingo and Jamaica, which, for want of room we were, last week, compelled to postpone.—We remain thoroughly convinced, that the Island of St. Domingo will finally be completely restored to its former opulent state, that it will be what it was before the revolution, the first colony in the whole world. There are yet troubles, and very serious troubles in the island; and, at some of the posts, the distress and danger of the troops and inhabitants are, undoubtedly, very great; but this is not generally the case, and we repeat our assertion, that if the amount of imports and exports be a criterion of the magnitude of trade, the trade of St. Domingo is *now* greater than that of Jamaica. But it is not, as we have so frequently said, in a colonial point of view that we have so much reason to fear the French at St. Domingo; it is not a rivalship (or as Mr. Fox, in his Paris jargon, calls it, a *rivalité*) in trade and commerce, which is, in this quarter, the immediate object of our dread; it is the

arms of St. Domingo, which, from the very first, we have dreaded and which we still dread. "If we have the policy to unite the "industry of the colonist with the *warlike* "*spirit of the buccaneer*, the West India "islands will soon become to her [St. Do- "mingo] *what Europe is to France*." * This is the notion, and these are the words of the French rulers.—But, whether the French succeed in their views with regard to this island, or whether they do not, the folly (to give it no harsher term) on the part of our peace-making ministers, in suffering the French armament to go thither, previous to the signature of the definitive treaty, will be equally apparent, and equally injurious in its consequences; for to say nothing of the mighty difference which the sailing and safe arrival of that armament must have made in the tone and the terms of the treaty, it is, now at least, clear to every one, that our West India islands, Jamaica in particular, has been, by the permission of which we are speaking, placed in a state of danger a year sooner than they otherwise would have been. The ministers, having been compelled to open a way for the French armament, or relinquish that peace on which their places depended, affected, by way of justification of their conduct, to see great dangers in the *black* government of St. Domingo; and, on that ground, they seemed to wish the nation to consider the French expedition as undertaken almost at their request. When, indeed, the news of Toussaint's resistance, and the exaggerated account of the mortality amongst their new friends, reached England, they could not disguise their exultation; but still they persisted in defending the measure as a wise one, because it tended to hasten the destruction of the black government, the example and the probable hostility of which were, as they pretended, much more dangerous to our colonies than any French force in St. Domingo could possibly be. In answer to this Mr. Windham, in the Appendix to his speech of 4th Nov. 1801, after remarking on the doubtfulness of the result of the French expedition, said *: "The *probability* "is, that France will succeed: but should "she not, then all the terrors, affected to be "felt at the establishment of the *black em-* "*pire*, will return with tenfold force; for "the blacks will remain masters,—and mas- "ters after having tried their powers in a "regular contest with European troops,— "not to mention the hostility, which they "may be well expected to conceive against "us, who, after various treaties and nego- "ciations with them, finally lent our assis- "tance to the sending out a force, intended "for the purpose of bringing them back to "slavery. Should the other event happen, "and France obtain possession of St. Do- "mingo, it may then well be a question, "*how long we shall remain in possession of* "*Jamaica*." Mons. Charmilly, whom subsequent events have proved to possess a most accurate knowledge of every thing relating to the West Indies, has these remarkable words: "Je le répète, Monsieur, et je "n'hésite point à l'affirmer: si St. Domingue "étoit abandonné, ou remis aux François, "*la Jamaique* seroit promptement détruite, "et bientôt après, toutes les colonies des "Antilles †."—This will, probably, be subject of derision with Lords Hawkesbury and Castlereagh; but that derision will be affected, as all their sorrow at the gloomy prospects of the French has been. Their measures, with respect to the object before us, have constantly been in direct contradiction to their professions: they professed to believe, that the French armament would carry out *security* to our islands, particularly *Jamaica*; they now profess to believe that it *has* carried out such security; but, to prove the insincerity of these professions, we have nothing to do but take a comparative view of the ships of the line on the West India station.

In the month of September, 1801, the month before the preliminaries were signed, there were at Jamaica and the Leeward Islands.....	6
In March, 1802, that is in six months after the preliminaries were signed, and in two months after the French armament had arrived at St. Domingo, there were, at Jamaica alone....	23
At the present time, after a year of peace, after the French have brought home their fleet, and after the "*black em-* "*pire*," has been so far destroyed as to lose its emperor, who has been brought away and imprisoned in old France, there are, at Jamaica alone	9

* See the whole essay from which this sentence is extracted, and which will be found in LETTERS ON THE PEACE, p. 116.

* See Parliamentary Debates, p. 1156.—We refer here to our Supplement to Vol. II. which contains a complete collection of all the parliamentary debates on, or relative to, the preliminary and definitive treaties.—We shall, in the subsequent pages, frequently refer to parliamentary debates, and we must, unless we otherwise express ourselves, always be understood as referring to the collection here spoken of, which collection will very soon be in the hands of all our readers.

† See Charmilly's letter to Bryan Edwards, p. 224.

And, after this view, cannot one believe the ministers to have been sincere, when they declared, that they regarded the sailing of the French expedition, and the success of that expedition, as absolutely necessary to the security of our own colonies? If they really thought so, why did they upon the sailing of that expedition, augment our naval force at Jamaica from 6 to 22 ships of the line? If they really think now, that we derive *security* from the French force being in St. Domingo; if they do really and sincerely believe, that the situation of our colonies is grown *more secure* in consequence of the destruction, in part at least, of the "black empire," how will they answer to their country for the keeping up of nine ships of the line at Jamaica, three *more* than were thought necessary during the heat of the war as well as during the zenith of the "black empire?" And, lastly, if the peace, as considered with respect to our colonies, be not pregnant with danger, how will they account for keeping up nine ships of the line, where, during the last peace, we had *no ship of the line at all?* During the last peace, our naval force at Jamaica was one fifty gun ship, and a few frigates, about three, and two or three sloops of war: it now is, nine ships of the line, nine frigates, and nine sloops of war, as will be seen by a reference to the distribution of the navy, in our last sheet, page 758.—If we look, too, at the military force, in Jamaica, we see, if possible a still stronger proof of the insincerity, or the gross ignorance, of His Majesty's ministers, who, instead of announcing to the colonists, as was usual at a peace, a reduction of their expences, called upon them for a very considerable augmentation of those expences, for the purpose of maintaining five thousand additional troops, five thousand *more* soldiers than were thought necessary to the defence of the island during the war, and during the existence of the terrific "black empire!"—After all, however, we shall, perhaps, be told, that these dangers must have been the necessary result of any peace with the Republic of France, and that, to avoid them, we must have continued the war for ever. Allowing, for argument's sake, the truth of these premises, and the justness of this conclusion; allowing that the dangers we have been speaking of must have followed any peace with the terrible Republic, yet we contend, that, in point of *time*, much was in our own power. To suffer the French armament to sail previous to the conclusion of the definitive treaty, was highly injurious to that treaty, both as to its *terms* and the *time* of its conclusion; but, with respect to the expedition, time was every thing: if it had been delayed till after the conclusion of the definitive treaty, it could not have taken place till September; or, taking place in May, the troops would, upon their very landing, have been met by that mortality which put a stop to their movements in June last; and so would they have been lost to our enemy, instead of having, before that same month of June, conquered the black empire, and sent the black emperor to inhabit a prison in the mountains of the Jura. If, therefore, our ministers had acted with wisdom and firmness, if they had preferred the honour and interest of their country to the accomplishment of a popular measure, calculated to prolong the duration of their power and emoluments, Toussaint would at this moment be to be subdued, and, *having had a twelvemonth to prepare for resistance*, the war might have cost 150,000 of those troops, who are now employed in the subjugation of Switzerland, and in other enterprizes, all having a tendency, either direct or indirect, to the destruction of the independence of Europe in general, and of England in particular.

France and her willing satellites look to the proceedings in parliament with a watchful and scowling eye; while the nations who still wish for deliverance from her yoke, look to them with uncommon anxiety. Spite of our degradation; spite of the relinquishment of our place in scale of nations; spite of Napper Tandy; spite of the Hawkesburies and Addingtons; still some of the unfortunate nations look to England for help; strong and clear as is the evidence of our debasement, loud as we have proclaimed it to the world, still, still do they hope, that we are not what we seem. The truth is, that such was the vast stock of our reputation for liberality, honour, and courage, that the world cannot, all at once, form an adequate conception of our present state. We still retain the *name* and the *outward appearance* of the English nation; we have still the hide, the limbs, and the carcass of the lion; but the nations will, one after another, find out that we have no longer his teeth or his claws; one after another they will learn to know, to despise, and to insult us. The topics of public discussion, to which we think it necessary more particularly to call the attention of our readers, are, 1. The Navy; 2. The Army; 3. The

Revenue and Commerce: 4. The Indemnity to the Stadtholder: 5. The affair of Capt. D'Auvergne. As to the navy, it must give every one who loves England, and who wishes to preserve her from the power of France, great pleasure to perceive, that a stop has been put to the dismantling and disbanding system of Lord St. Vincent. The 50,000 seamen, voted for the whole year, must, in great part, be inlisted upon a new bounty, from those already discharged; but this is a trifle when compared to the alarming mischief which would soon have been accomplished, if his lordship's *œconomical* measures had not received a check. We have at this moment fewer ships of the line in commission than France has, if we include (as, in all such calculations we must) those which she has at her command, belonging to Spain and Holland; and, *in Europe*, we have not half so many in commission as France. Our ships of the line at this time in Europe, and in commission, are 9 in number, or 10 at most; and, our readers may rest assured, that these have not hands enough on board to man more than 6 for sea. We have about 50 frigates in commission in Europe, some of them manned with about one-third of their complement. Not more than 30 of these could put to sea with their present strength of hands. Mr. Addington has, indeed, told the country, that we can, at any time, get *fifty ships of the line* ready for sea in the space of *a month!* And here we have a striking instance of the lengths to which your modest, well-meaning men, who are everlastingly talking of their *conscience*, will sometimes go. *Fifty* ships of the line ready for sea at *a month's* notice! Forty *additional* ships, with all their tackling, rigging, guns, stores, and men, amounting to 24,000 seamen and 5,000 marines, to be got ready to sail out of port at a month's notice! The very press-gangs, for the impressment of the 24,000 seamen, would not be organized in that space of time. But why do we occupy the time of our readers with comments on a statement, which, if it be not (as we hope it is) a joint fabrication of the newspapers, is upon a level with any of the statements of Baron Munchausen. Mr. Addington contradicted certain reports, which had been circulated with respect to the strength of the French fleet at Toulon, and, upon the authority of Admiral Bickerton, assured the House that there were but 5 ships of the line in the harbour of Toulon; but, until it be proved to us, that Admiral Bickerton has better information respecting the French fleet at Toulon, than Admiral Duckworth has respecting the French army in St. Domingo (which was a week ago reduced to 1,500 men, who, with their commander, had actually *taken to their ships)* we shall be disposed to give very little credit to his intelligence; and, indeed, we shall never be in great haste to believe the foreign intelligence of a minister, who, in March, 1801, stated the French army in Egypt to consist of *twelve* thousand men, and who had, a few months afterwards, to inform the nation, that *twenty-five* thousand men of that very army had *laid down their arms!* The comparative statement which he gave of our navy, and of that of France and her two principal satellites, was, that France had 39 sail of the line, Spain 70, and Holland 16; and that, to oppose these, we had 192 sail of the line. Whether he meant to include the ships *building*, those *unserviceable*, in Holland, France, and Spain, we know not; but this we know, that he *did not include them*. According to his statement, we have 60 ships of the line more than the three powers; but, from so conscientious and candid a man, one might have expected a deduction from this balance of 18 ships *building*, 8 of the ordinary, 18 receiving ships, and 3 of the guard-ships, all unserviceable, which would leave us a balance of no more than 13; and, as the *Italian states* have more than this number, the numerical balance is certainly against us. Far be it from us, however, to augur any evil from this circumstance. We have ships enough; and we have entered into this examination only for the purpose of showing, that the sort of calculation on which Mr. Addington proceeded, was fit for nothing but the amusement of children. He did not remove, nor attempt to remove, the serious apprehension, which every thinking man must entertain, of the consequences of the emigration of British sailors to France; a thing that never was heard of at the end of any former war.—We rejoice, however, that, whether by the opponents of the peace, or by Buonaparté, the ministry have been goaded into an augmentation of the fleet; and we rejoice still more at the *augmentation of the army*; for, however we may hope to the contrary, it is on this army that we must finally depend for the preservation of our independence. The Secretary at War, in bringing forward his estimate (see preceding sheet, p. 754), attempted a defence of the precipitate measures of reduction, in which he completely failed, if a speaker ought to be said to fail in not defending what is indefensible. Our pleasure, however, at per-

ceiving, that it was resolved to maintain an efficient army of *a hundred and thirty thousand men*, made us willing to overlook an attempt (perhaps laudable enough "upon the whole and under all existing circumstances") to draw a veil over past errors, particularly when accompanied with such thumping atonement. Before we dismiss this subject of naval and military establishments, justice to those who onposed the peace call upon us to remind our readers of their sentiments, formerly given, applicable to establishments as connected with the measure, of which they disapproved. Mr. Windham, in his speech of the 4th of November, 1801, said, "The chief question, as to the expenses of "peace compared to those of war, will be, "not between an *ordinary peace establishment* "and a war, such as, from circumstances, "ours has *hitherto been*, involving expedi- "tions to all parts of the globe; but be- "tween a peace establishment, such as that "which is now declared to be necessary, and "a war, which had become, and was likely "to continue, merely defensive; in which "we should have had nothing to do, but to "maintain a competent force, with little "prospect of being obliged to make use of "it. The advocates for the present peace "must find themselves always in an awk- "ward dilemma, between *economy* and "*safety*. We make peace *in order to save* "*our money*: if we reduce our establish- "ments, what becomes of our *security*? If "we keep up our establishments, what be- "comes of our *savings*? Whatever you "give to one object, is unavoidably taken "from the other. The savings of the pre- "sent peace, therefore, can be looked for "only between the narrow limits of a *high* "*peace* and a *low war* establishment; or, to "state the case more correctly, between a "high peace establishment and a war, re- "duced in the manner that I have described. "I wish that a correct estimate were formed "of the difference, in point of expense, be- "tween these two states; recollecting always "that *among the expenses of peace* are to be "counted *the provisions necessary against the* "*new dangers brought by the peace itself*; the "new dangers for example, with which "Jamaica, and all our West-India islands "are threatened by the establishment of the "French in Saint-Domingo, and other parts "in that quarter of the world; the new "dangers to which our empire in the East "is exposed, by the re-entry of the French "into the peninsula of India, and the ces- "sion to them, for such in effect it is, of "the Cape and Cochin: in general, by the "free passage now given to their ships and "armies into every part of the world, and "the establishment of them every where in "the neighbourhood of our most valuable "possessions.—Against all these dangers "war provided, as it were, by its own sin- "gle act. The existence of our fleets upon "the ocean, with an admiralty order "to "burn, sink, and destroy," shut up at once, "as under lock and key, all those attempts, "which are now let loose, and require as "many separate defences as there are parts "liable to be attacked. A fleet cruising "before Brest, therefore, was not to be "considered as so much clear expense, to "be charged to the account of the war; "without deducting the expense of addi- "tional troops *and additional ships, which* "*the absence of the fleet might require to be* "*kept for instance, in the West-Indies.*"—How correct was this reasoning! How minutely correct have these calculations proved to be! The expense of the *five thousand men* added to the establishment of Jamaica *since the peace*, and that of the *four ships of the line*, at least, added to those on that station, the amount of these expenses (which are so much higher in the West-Indies than in Europe), the amount of these expenses alone, which is entirely an *addition* to the *war establishment* of Jamaica, would, if we take into the account the greater loss of lives there than in the Channel, more than have maintained a squadron of 12 ships of the line and 4 frigates to blockade the port of Brest, which blockade not only defended Jamaica, but all those other numerous points of the British empire, which, being exposed by the removal of that blockade, must now be guarded by an addition to their war establishments, as long as this armed truce shall continue. Leaving our readers to apply the reasoning of Mr. Windham to our present circumstances, we shall proceed to our third topic, to wit, the *Revenue and Commerce*. Mr. Adington's statement relative to which we have given correctly and at full length in p. 778 of the present sheet. On a subject so complicated we cannot be expected here to go into detail; we shall, therefore, content ourselves with some general remarks, which we preface with an unfeigned expression of pleasure to find, that our financial affairs are in so flourishing a state, and with a request that our readers will believe, that if we endeavour to shew, that the great excess, of which the minister speaks, is owing to temporary and not to permanent causes, we are actuated by a desire, not to delude, but to prevent that delusion, which must

finally end in bitter disappointment.—The increase of the excise is partly owing to the money which the disbanding of soldiers and sailors has scattered over this country instead of its being spent abroad or locked up in the chests of agents; and partly to the two last abundant harvests, which, by causing an immense reduction in the cost of the necessaries of life, have left a greater portion of the earnings of the people to be employed in the purchase of taxable commodities; in other words, the earth having produced more money, more money is come into the treasury, through the medium of the excise. The *former* of these causes may, indeed, fairly be ascribed to *the peace*; but the latter never has, we believe, except by a poet in the Morning Post:

" 'Tis thro' Addington's *peace* that fair *plenty* is
" ours;
" *Peace* brighten'd the sunshine, *peace* soften'd the
" show'rs;
" What yellow'd the corn-fields!—what ripen'd
" the hay?
" But the *peace* that was settled last Michaelmas
" day*!"

As to tonnage and sailors employed in our mercantile marine, the reports of the port of London only are made up. According to them an increase has taken place; but, if there should be a falling off at the ports of Bristol, Liverpool, Glasgow, &c. &c. as we are inclined to think there is, there will, probably be, upon the whole, a considerable diminution in this most important branch of our national resources: it is certain, that English shipping has diminished *in value* from 35 to 40 *per centum*.—The imports and exports remain, then, to be considered. And here we must beg leave to repeat the opinion, which we gave on a former occasion; that, the vast disproportion between the first quarter and the succeeding ones proves, beyond contradiction, that the increase is not of a permanent nature, but has arisen in great part, at least, from those temporary circumstances, which are well known to be inseparable from the conclusion of a long war, especially after a long negotiation. How many cargoes, to and for this country, were kept in waiting for that diminution in the rates of freight and insurance, which peace must inevitably produce? The negotiations were going on for eight months, during the whole of which time the shippers, out and home, were keeping back all the goods which it was not absolutely necessary to send off. Let it be observed, too (what, indeed, was frequently observed during the discussions on the peace), that the magazines on the Continent were all empty; that an increased demand in all the lately belligerent countries, was, at first, and even for two or three years, to be expected; unless France, before that time, chose to put an end to our exportation by renewing the war. To and from all the Colonies, which are to remain in our possesion, an increase of imports and exports was to be expected, for the causes above mentioned, for the first twelve or eighteen months; and with respect to the colonies which are about to be, or which actually are, restored to France and Holland, it is easy to account for an extraordinary trade. The ministers, by neglecting to obtain a longer time for the shipping of produce, &c. from those colonies to Great Britain, compelled the proprietors to ship the whole home, previous to the surrender of the colonies, or, to incur the immense loss attending a transit through the custom houses of France and Holland; while, on the other hand, the persons remaining in colonies, well knowing that British goods would be immediately prohibited, laid in as great a stock as possible before the day of prohibition arrived. Thus, with respect to the imports and exports of Martinico, St. Lucia, Tobago, Curraçoa, Surinam, Berbice, Demarara, and Essequibo, the minister has had a double year; but it is *the last*; let the country remember that—it is *the last*!—These circumstances, we think, fully account for the excess, which the minister, for want of knowledge and experience, and not for want of candour, ascribes to permanent causes. Some people think, indeed, that Mr. Addington's display bears a striking resemblance to that of Shakespeare's apothecary:—

" Remnants of packthread, and old cakes of roses,
" Were thinly scattered to make up a shew.
" Noting this penury, to myself I said—&c. &c."

But we, for our parts, sincerely believe, that, though things may have been made the most of, the statement of the minister is less exaggerated than is generally thought; yet, as something was certainly wanted, by way of a set-off to the accumulation of disappointment and disgrace in our foreign affairs, something to weigh against 50,000 seamen and 130,000 soldiers, the dark and intricate recesses of the treasury might perhaps be regarded as the safest scene wherein to hatch the pious fraud.—In taking leave of this topic, we cannot help bestow-

* The poet means the peace of the *first of October*, 1801; but that day not suiting him so well, he takes the preceding one.—This is a very happy little piece, and being of a *political* nature, we propose to give it a place in the Supplement to this volume.

ing a remark on that sort of affected triumph, which the makers and supporters of the peace affect to enjoy on this account, over the opposers of that measure; as if the opposition of the latter *had no other foundation than that of the dread of an* IMMEDIATE *diminution in our commerce and revenue.* So far from this being the case, no one of the noblemen and gentlemen in parliament, who opposed the peace, ever expressed his apprehension of an *immediate diminution*; but, on the contrary, all of them argued upon the supposition, that there might be a *permanent increase*, until Buonaparté or his successor, finding himself distanced in a fair commercial race, should pick a quarrel with us, and ask us if we could draw our sword; and, Mr. Addington may be well assured, that his consolatory statement, the statement which has so charmed the patriots of 'Change Alley, will make a good deal of *mauvais sang* at St. Cloud.

The *indemnity to the Stadtholder*, which is, it seems, in great part, to come, at last, out of the pockets of the people of this country, we are very far indeed from grudging. But, we are equally far from giving the ministry any credit for the proposed act of justice, which is to be ascribed solely to the remonstrances and reproaches of those, who have *opposed* the treaty of Amiens. By that treaty it was stipulated, that "The branch "of the house of Nassau," [observe the degrading phraseology] "which was esta- "blished in the ci-devant republic of the "United Provinces, now the Batavian Re- "public, having experienced some losses, "as well with respect to *private property* as "by the *change of constitution adopted in those "countries*, an equivalent compensation *shall "be procured* for the losses, which they shall "be proved to have sustained." This stipulation was hardly made, the treaty of Amiens was hardly signed, when the French and Dutch plenipotentiaries retired into a corner, and entered into a separate convention (See Register, Vol. I. p. 361), by which it was resolved and agreed, that Holland should contribute nothing towards the compensation mentioned in the treaty. Remarking on this curious transaction, at the time, we made use of the following words:—"Who, then, is to discharge this "indemnification? Have we obtained per- "mission *to do it ourselves?* or are we to as- "sist in extorting it from *some defenceless "bishoprick of Germany?*"—Both, as it now appears! yea, verily, both! We are to contribute a sum of money, and the defenceless and unoffending bishop of Fulda is to be robbed of his bishoprick! Our readers will imagine, perhaps, that some supernatural agent enabled us so precisely to point out the result of this transaction; but, if they knew the Hawkesburies and Addingtons as well as we do, they would not be surprised at our describing beforehand their divers acts of folly and meanness. —When the Definitive Treaty came to be discussed, the opposers of that treaty, the men who felt a concern for the honour of their country, having previously seen the separate convention (to which we have above alluded), between France and Holland, demanded an explanation relative thereto. In calling to the recollection of our readers what passed, in parliament, on the subject, we shall confine ourselves to the debate in the House of Lords, on the 5th of May last, * when Lord Carlisle moved for a copy of the separate convention executed at Amiens, with respect to the compensation to the House of Orange. His Lordship prefaced his motion, by observing that the compensation was certainly *intended*, by the treaty, *to come from Holland*; but that the convention, of which he had called for a copy, would, if carried into effect, render the stipulation in favour of the House of Orange of non-effect. Lord Pelham replied, that "no such communication had "been made to his Majesty's Ministers, "nor was he apprized, from any authority, "*that such convention had been entered into.*" Lord Cornwallis, being pressed by Lord Carlisle, for an explanation of the matter, said, that "*he could not conceive that there "was any ground to suspect that the 18th "article of the definitive treaty would not be "solemnly fulfilled.* Neither could he con- "ceive that a separate agreement, entered "into by two of the contracting parties to "the definitive treaty by themselves, *as it "were in their closet*, without the concurrence "or consent of the other contracting par- "ties, *could possibly be liable to be considered as "affecting the due execution of a treaty, for which "the good faith of all the four contracting parties "was pledged.* With regard to his having "deserted, or suffered the interests of the "Prince of Orange and his adherents to "be deserted, *he disdained the imputation*; he "had deserted no interests that this country "was bound in honour to maintain, and "*he had not the smallest doubt that a full and "ample compensation would be procured for the "Prince of Orange and his adherents.*"—"The "Lord Chancellor contended strenuously "that the *pledged faith of nations* was an *am- "ple security* for the stipulation *to procure a*

* For the whole of this debate see our Supplement to Vol. II. p. 1226, *et seq.*

" *full compensation* for the losses suffered by " the House of Orange."—Here, then, we have the *interpretation* of the article of the treaty relative to the compensation to the House of Orange: and this interpretation comes, too, from the nobleman who *negociated* the treaty, and from him who *drew it up*. That these noble lords looked to *Holland* for the compensation, or, at least, to some other country than England, is evident. Indeed, it is notorious, that the ministers and their adherents never supposed it possible, that any demand of the sort would come upon this country: when charged with ingratitude towards the House of Orange, they endeavoured to diminish our obligations to that house; and Lord Hobart, in the very debate above quoted, " denied that the Dutch colonies had been " delivered into our hands by the Prince of " Orange, or by his means." In fact, it is well known, that, from the beginning to the end of the long and repeated discussions on the peace, the ministers, upon every occasion, insisted that they had PROCURED, by *negociation*, a *full* and *adequate* compensation to the House of Orange. And, will they now pretend that they meant to *procure* it from the people of England! Was it necessary to obtain the consent of France, Spain, and Holland to *this!* Or, did those nations, seeing us basely inclined to desert our faithful friend and ally, resolve *to bind us down* to do him justice!—Oh shame! shame! shame!

We now come to the last of our proposed topics: the affair of *Captain D'Auvergne*, which, agreeably to a notice given by Dr. Laurence, is to be discussed after the recess. In the mean time, we think it necessary to put our readers in possession of the leading facts relative to the subject. The newspapers have represented Lord Pelham as saying, in reply to Lord Spencer, that (we quote the True Briton of the 14th inst.) " With respect to the gallant officer, Cap- " tain D'Auvergne, no possible imputation " could rest upon ministers. It was true, " that he had been arrested by an officer of " police, and for a short time confined in " Paris; but, *the moment* it was known to the " British Minister, application was made " to the Minister of Foreign Relations, " and *by that means*, he was *instantly* re- " leased." Now, we positively assert, that the newspapers have combined to misrepresent his lordship, or that his lordship has been kept in the dark, and grossly deceived with respect to this unjust and insulting transaction. The facts are as follows:—Capt D'Auvergne, (Duke de Bouillon), and Mr. J. Dumaresq, sailed from Jersey on the 22d of August last, for Granville. On their arrival, they waited on the Mayor of the Municipality with their passports, that of Captain D'Auvergne being signed by Lord Hawkesbury, and countersigned by Mr. Otto; that of Mr. Dumaresq, by Mr. Otto alone. They were required to deposit their passports in the Mayor's office, which they did; whereupon they received two others in their room. They then proceeded to Paris, where they arrived on the 27th of August. As the Captain's business was to consult a gentleman of the law, who had already his papers in his possession, his first care, on his arrival, was to wait on him. On the 7th of September (twelve days after the arrival of the two gentlemen at Paris), at seven o'clock in the morning, a commissary, accompanied with two runners of the police, entered the bed-chamber of Captain D'Auvergne, made him get up, and, after ransacking his papers, and taking them, took him to the office of the Minister of Police, where he underwent several examinations, the general tendency of which was *to extort from him information respecting the secrets of his Majesty's government, during the late war*. He was kept, in a nasty room, with two runners, from eight o'clock in the morning to ten o'clock the same evening, at which time he was told that he must go to the Temple, as Fouché, the Minister of Police, was gone to the opera. He was taken to the Temple accordingly, and forced to lie that night on straw, as the bedding was so miserably filthy.—The moment Mr. Dumaresq was informed of the arrest of his companion, which was in about half an hour after it took place, he went to Mr. Merry, the English Plenipotentiary at Paris, and requested that he would either go, or write to Mr. Talleyrand, demanding the immediate release of Captain D'Auvergne. Mr. Merry instantly wrote, but received *no answer*. He desired Mr. Dumaresq, in case the Captain should not be released that night, to inform him of it early in the morning. Mr. Dumaresq did so, and Mr. Merry, thereupon dispatched a courier to London, to inform his court of what had happened. —On the 9th of September (two days after Captain D'Auvergne was arrested) Mr. Dumaresq was also taken up, in the same way, carried to the police-office, and after a few interrogatories, was also sent to the Temple, previous to which, however, he requested to be informed as to the charge against him, but could obtain no answer.—On Sunday, the 12th of Septem-

ber, both the gentlemen were released. On the Monday, they went to the office of the Minister of Police, in order to recover their papers, and to find out, if possible, what were the charges alledged against them, and who were their accusers; but all knowledge of this kind was refused them.—On Wednesday, the 15th of September, they received their passports to quit France, and the next day they set off from Paris.—As we pledge our word for the correctness of this narrative, it follows, of course, that Lord Pelham must have been misrepresented by the news-papers, or must have been, as we said before, kept in the dark and grossly imposed upon, with respect to this shameful transaction. His lordship is made to say, that "*the moment* "it" [the Captain's arrest] "was made "known to the British Minister, applica- "tion was made to the French Minister of "Foreign Relations, and *by that means*, "he" [the Captain] "was *instantly* re- "leased."—But, the fact is, that Captain D'Auvergne, instead of being instantly released upon the British Ministers application, remained in a filthy prison *six days* after the making of that application, which, besides, was not even *answered* by Talleyrand!—Lord Castlereagh has been pleased to speak of this matter as too *trifling* to give rise to a national dispute. "*We* "have an alien law," says he, "and we "should not suffer any other nation to inter- "fere in our execution of it." True, my gentle Lord, and to avoid such interference, on the part of France, you will never attempt to execute it against any of the friends or agents of Buonaparté. Lundberg! Lundberg! Lundberg! The pronunciation of that name is a sufficient answer to every thing that ministers can say as to the reciprocity of the alien laws of England and France.—When the ill-treatment of Captain D'Auvergne is brought regularly before Parliament, our readers will see it fully and ably discussed; but we could not, in the mean time, refrain from submitting to them a few facts and observations on so interesting a subject.

After having gone through the preceding distinct and important heads, it was our intention to have remarked on other speeches, attributed, by the newspapers, to members of parliament; such, for instance, as that, where a *general* is represented as declaring that "if the *war* had been kept up, "they" [the members] "*would not, perhaps, have* "*been now debating in that House.*" And again, where an English country-gentleman is made to say, "that he wished to see *no change of ministry*, be- "cause as the present ministers were known to be of "a *pacific disposition*, the turning of them out might "*furnish an ambitious neighbour with a pretext for re-* "*newing hostilities.*" It was our intention to have shown how exactly this gentleman had verified our opinions, as stated in the present Vol. p. 343, 573, &c.; but, we must content ourselves with barely referring to those pages. The curious answer of Mr. Addington, too, respecting the libels against His Majesty in the French official paper, would, had we room, demand our animadversions.

As to M. Sheridan's speech, we had prepared several pages on that delightful topic, which we most reluctantly postpone till our next. Of *parties*, however, we must say a few words. Mr. Thomas Grenville, Lord Temple, and Lord Grenville, having all expressed a wish to see Mr. Pitt again at the head of affairs, the old opposition and their adherents, who, it seems, are never to be cured of their rancour towards those men who prevented them from revolutionizing the country, have made this call a handle for describing all those who opposed the peace of Amiens, as a faction struggling for power and place, than which nothing can be more false. Mr. Windham and Dr. Laurence have clearly expressed their conviction, that, unless the temper of the country be previously changed, a change of men would be of no use. These two gentlemen, therefore, and many others who opposed the peace, have made no call for Mr. Pitt; and, we are well assured, that neither Lord Grenville, nor Mr. Grenville has any view to office. It is not for them, however goaded, to make *profession* of a desire to remain out of office; for, their rank, their talents, their integrity, their many great and statesman like qualities, mark them out for the service of their King; but we know, that their opinion is, that Mr. Pitt should be prevailed upon to join the *present* ministry, for the purpose of putting a stop to that system of submission, which, if suffered to proceed much longer, must bring upon us swift and complete destruction.

POSTSCRIPT.—It is proposed by France to give Parma to the family of Spain in exchange for *the Floridas*! *Cochin* has been given up to France by the Dutch!—Our readers will remember that we foretold both these cessions nearly a twelvemonth ago. —*Tobago* (poor little Tobago!) was surrendered to the French on the 7th of October.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The letter of W. A. we should rather keep to insert with the succeeding ones in the Supplement to this volume; and we beg leave to observe, that the sequel should, for this purpose, reach us by the 1st. of January, at furthest.—DETECTOR, on the modesty of ministers, TYRTÆUS, on the fraternization of Messrs. Fox and Addington, and CYPRIAN, to the Bishop of London, shall appear in our next.—MR. WILBERFORCE, when he perceives how matter has pressed upon us, will, we make no doubt, excuse us till next week.—Next week we shall publish two numbers, for the purpose of getting out several interesting articles, and, in particular, AN AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE OF THE TAKING OF THE INVINCIBLE STANDARD IN EGYPT, by ANTOINE LUTZ, a French royalist, and a private soldier in the Queen's German Reg. of Foot. "*Reader, therefore, honour to whom* "*honour is due,*" is a precept, which, with respect to this affair, has been much too long neglected.

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